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The past history of varied operations of the Job Corps Centers indicates that the high incidence of failure to acculturize trainees to socially acceptable behavior has been due to the Centers' limited, vocational orientation. The Centers should identify the different types of deviant behavior and treat them individually. Also, they should help the disadvantaged youth acquire new values and aspirations represented by the program. (KG)

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# LOW INCOME YOUTH, UNEMPLOYMENT, VOCATIONAL TRAINING AND THE JOB CORPS

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## LOW INCOME YOUTH, UNEMPLOYMENT, VOCATIONAL TRAINING AND THE JOB CORPS

Since the advent of the industrial revolution, the orderly and effective induction of youth, particularly males, into occupational roles, mainly blue collar workers from the lower classes, has constituted a serious problem in most western technological societies. Each generation has experienced the problem of large numbers of rootless male youth in its midst. Each generation has passed its own judgment on these youth, and each generation has produced temporary solutions. But the problem continues to emerge. The failure of the occupational role induction process in the United States has been more pronounced by the heterogeneity of the population, the presence at any one time of large numbers of in-migrant people, and a large socially unassimilated Negro population. As it will be shown later, each generation has sought relief from the problem through the creation of in-residence facilities.

Indeed, the use of in-residence programs appears to have been adopted in the United States as a panacea for a great many social ills. Since the middle of the nineteenth century a great growth in the number and size of in-residence facilities has occurred. The problems that these facilities pose to the society, while unintended, are none the less real and severe. In the United States, the end of the poor farms and poor houses have come to pass. Populations of mental hospitals, prisons, boys' training schools, homes for dependent children, asylums for mentally retarded, homes for crippled children and hospitals for narcotic addicts have all risen disproportionately to the general population rate of increase and more proportionately to the increase in the gross national product. Additionally, the advantaged classes have demonstrated an increased willingness to use private preparatory schools and private academies for their youth. The clergy still relies heavily on the concept and the use of in-residence seminaries. The army, of course, finds it indispensable to use in-residence training. Summer camps for youth in all walks of life represents a somewhat attenuated form of in-residence life. These social arrangements, to be sure, are not all responses to social problems, but they all seem to rely upon the removal of the individual from his family and ambient culture, to be placed in a relatively controlled setting where various techniques can be applied at an ever increasing rate of efficiency. In this sense they represent the triumph of the psychology of technology. Additionally, social pressure is reduced within communities unable to accommodate certain members of their youth population.

In spite of their ubiquitous nature, in-residence strategy has not received a great deal of attention in the literature or social research in terms of exam-

ining basic assumptions, or for that matter, even specifying the assumptions. Generally what is written addresses the problem of rendering them more efficient. Social scientists and humanitarians, however, have increasingly challenged the efficacy of prisons and mental hospitals.

It, therefore, seems worthwhile to examine critically the in-residence concept now that national leaders are urging that some form of compulsory service and training be undertaken by all youth; and at a time in our history when in-residency programs are being initiated to overcome the debilitating effects on youth of poverty, poor education, and **de jure** and **de facto** segregation. These latter youth are unable to enter either the world of work nor the world of the military.

The history and development of in-resident centers can be traced through such institutions as seminaries, university resident halls, work camps, and vocational training schools. Criticis of each of these developments have stressed the fact that little evidence was available to support the use of resident halls and that the efforts to alter the behavior of the youth to be served was frustrated by the youth whose attitudes and life style were mutually reinforcing. Too often in the history of such institutions, objectives and day to day operations have been the result of influences and values extraneous to the population being served. They have persisted as the pawns of history rather than having been objectively assessed in terms of their effects both functional and dysfunctional on those who have been subjected to their influences.

Early efforts to secure conformity in role behavior through the utilization of residency training appears to have had its origins in efforts to effect conformity among the neophyte theologians. Weber and others have described the evolution of the protestant ethic and the rise of capitalism which are dependent upon certain behavioral conformity viz. This concern shifts from theistic concepts of morality and goodness to establishing a morality for the attainment and production of goods for profit. When a society identifies as its central concern the system of economics which it has evolved, and that this concern overshadows all other concerns and is not separated from the rest of the fabric of life; it is not unlikely for such societies to develop residential schools and training centers for vocations to overcome local inabilities to prepare youth for occupations. The National Association of Manufacturers highlights this intermingling of economy and society by the following statement, "The term 'economic system' means not merely business as this word is commonly used. It includes all those activities and relations which have influence upon, or affect, our making a living. It is concerned just as much with the organization of government as with the

organization of business, with social problems and with training workers. All these elements are a part of the whole which is the 'American way of life' . . . and anything that affects one part will alter the whole" (NAM I:1.) The need to create residential training centers for blue collar occupations represents a mal-integration of the community and the business component. Those customary agencies which prepare for occupational roles have become dysfunctional, leaving large numbers of socially by-passed youth to swell the ranks of the unemployed. The growing governmental concern to reduce unemployment rates joined with the growing dissatisfaction with the established educational facilities produce compelling strains on the establishment of labor camps, conservation camps, and job training camps. In addition, there also resides in the United States the naive, though hopeful belief, that sun, fresh air and trees have miraculous qualities for the youth exposed to them. Removal from the city or rural slums for varying periods is an imperative.

In their book on the United States Civilian Conservation Corps, Holland and Hill traced the historical antecedents that led to the establishment of the Job Corps. (1942, pp. 15-24.) They noted that in the late 1840's Thomas Carlyle advocated the formation of an army or corps to fight, not wars against people, but the "bogs and wilderness". John Ruskin urged that the British army should labor at the side of civilians who were concerned with works of peace. In 1912, Josef Popper-Lynkeus, the Austrian engineer, advocated the establishment of a compulsory and universal labor service in order to insure minimum subsistence for all people. In the same year, a group of Heidlberg University professors prepared and sent a proposal to the German War Department for the establishment of a voluntary youth corps. And finally in that same year, William James, while at Harvard, urged the conscription of the whole youthful population to serve for a certain number of years in a great army to improve the natural resources of the nation. World War I removed the need to establish these camps, but in 1920, two years after the war, the International Voluntary Service for peace was formed. Those who worked under the IVS would benefit personally from "a sound system of training in mutual help, voluntary discipline and comradeship". According to Holland and Hill, in 1934 the work camps established by the American Society of Friends in America were a direct outgrowth of the IVS. In 1921, Bulgaria launched a work corps of 20,000 young unemployed men. While in residence in these camps, the men worked on the highways, forests and railroads. From 1925 through 1937, the National Union of Swiss Students subsidized by the government, operated summer work camps. In 1925, the German Free Corps turned to the idea of voluntary labor for the public good and by 1932 these camps had spread throughout Germany.

Their ranks swelled to 285,000 young men and women. In these camps young men and women could work for lodging, clothes, food and spending money. The entire operation was taken over by the Nazi and became the National Socialist Labor Service. These efforts were noted by President Roosevelt, when he proposed the establishment of work camps in the United States during his first administration. The National Job Training Corps established by the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, appears in many respects to be a continuation, though interrupted, of the Civilian Conservation Camps which had, upon the advice of Holland and others, moved into job centered training activities and "resocialization" when World War II broke out. Indeed, the CCC was a direct training ground and induction center for thousands of defense workers. The National Job Corps has enlisted the aid of industry whereby the Federal government contracts out to private industry the operation of the camps, thus avoiding the charge of setting up a dual educational system for the poor under federal control. For previously, in 1941, this charge against the government was made by the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association in a report to congress on the CCC, the NYA and the Public Schools. Among other recommendations was the following: "That as soon as they have completed their present emergency assignment of training workers for the national defense production program, the NYA and the CCC should discontinue as separate youth agencies; that their functions as agencies of vocational training, general education and guidance should be continued, but should be transferred to state and local educational agencies; and their functions as public works agencies should be continued, but should be located with the general agency or agencies of public works". (NEA, 1941, pp. 5-6.) It would appear then that the current mergence of residential organization for education, training and "resocialization" for various individuals results from both the need for public works programs and the need for education and training opportunities for low income youth.

When such solutions to problems are consistently relied upon throughout history the social scientist is obliged to ask whether it is not latent functions the solutions fulfill rather than those which are manifest and expressed and which cause these solutions to be tried over and again. For example, training schools in the past proved functional to communities who had discordant elements removed from their midst causing officials to generally overlook the dysfunctional consequences to many of the youth selected. The manifest purpose is to prepare youth for constructive participation in society and independence. The means employed, however, may lead to the unintended consequences which fulfill the latent functions.

The variety of programs being sponsored by the Office of Economic

Opportunity, the Labor Department, and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare strongly suggest that the nature of the problem of our out of school and out of work youth is at best poorly understood and as poorly defined. These programs are slowly yielding data which indicates the severity of the problem experienced by these youth are beyond the capacities of the programs as they are presently constituted.

What is the nature of the problem and what is the extent of the problem? These two questions must be fairly faced and the answers should provide guidelines for program development.

Still a concern today, growing out of our attempts to combat poverty, is the widespread unemployment of youth who have been eliminated from conventional educative and training facilities. Youth unemployment in the United States has reached the critical stage at least three times in the last thirty years. Each time the problem and its implication for our socioeconomic systems were avoided by the advent of a major war, but not before attempts were made to reduce the intensity of the problem of unemployment. Upwards to 4 million 16-24 year old youths filled the ranks of the unemployed during the period immediately before World War II in the late 1930's. It has been noted the two major solutions to the problem were initiated through the Civilian Conservation Camps (CCC) and the National Youth Administration (NYA). (The CCC was the residential training and work program of that era and the NYA the neighborhood program.) The consolidation and integration of these two agencies was forestalled by the outbreak of World War II barely eight weeks after the enabling legislation was enacted. During the years of their existence, 1933-41, 2¾ million youth served in the CCC and 1½ million youth participated in the NYA; the yearly cost to the government reached over 400 million by 1941. (Statistics drawn from U.S. 77th Congress 1st Session. House of Representatives. Report No. 688: to accompany H.R. 4926: 1941, p. 17-19.) The unemployment problem had barely come to a head following World War II in 1950, when the Korean conflagration again diminished the acuteness of the situation. By the late 1950's however, the school dropouts had become a cause for national concern. Perhaps not so much that they were out of school, but out of school and out of work, competing for jobs which were rapidly being automated from existence. The problem of the sixties then is aggravated by the fact that the entry positions in industry and trades of the past eras have vanished, and left unfilled are skilled craft positions and highly technical positions created by automation. The poverty created by this kind of unemployment has given rise to a number of programs which seek to train youth to become gainfully employed. The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, created two types of residential centers in the Urban Job Corps and the Rural Job Corps. The

former is designed to train youth in a variety of skilled crafts and upgrade their academic skills, and the latter is a program for less able youth to provide them with rudimentary work skills to carry out natural resource conservation activities. In addition, neighborhood school programs (Neighborhood Youth Corps) have been established. These, along with Labor Department programs, are to meet the problem of the 800,000 unemployed, out-of-school youth in 1964, aggravated by the more than 1 million youth who will turn 18 years of age in 1965. Indeed the problem is regarded by governmental officials as so severe that over 40% of the funds allocated for the war on poverty were allocated for youth programs.

Youth unemployment has at least three sources: 1) unemployment which stems from the failure of the economy to provide jobs for those who have the capacity to work; 2) unemployment which is caused by youth who lack the necessary skills to occupy those positions which do exist, and 3) unemployment which exists by virtue of capable youth being barred by social barriers such as racial discrimination. This classification can provide guidelines to measure the efficacy programs which has been launched to deal with the problem. If the Urban Job Corp were to receive for training a substantial portion of group 3, unemployment would be reduced in absolute terms by the number who are taken out of the diminishing labor market. But the basic issue would have been bypassed. If the Rural Job Corps (admittedly a resocialization effort) were to draw mainly from group 2, as does the Neighborhood Youth Corps, unemployment would be reduced in the same manner. Clearly, this is not the intention of the programs. Yet social forces move in such a manner as to produce this very result.

The question is frequently asked, is there not a type of youth who because of severe social debilitation requires the very type of encampment criticized in this paper? Neighborhood Youth Corps officials have located unattached, homeless, and socially debilitated youth who find functioning in even greatly modified work training programs within a community too difficult. Surely these youth should be reached. But large training camps of 2,000 boys as indicated requires greater adaptive skills than living in a community. One possibility would be to establish small residential centers of no more than 200 boys and integrated such a program with nearby Neighborhood Youth Corps and on-the-job training programs. The stay at the residential center would be regarded as a phase of a total program in a frankly **rehabilitation** approach. This phase would be designed to approach the **acute** stage of the youth's social debilitation. Chronic conditions can best be addressed by community based programs which provide opportunity for conventional socializing opportunities.

The social maintenance problems which are inherent in residential centers are so severe in the Urban Job Corps that the selection process is being geared to this end that only the "cream" of the unemployed youth are allowed to enter and remain. Less able youth remain in the NYC or are shunted to RJC. The result is problematic. Large numbers of able minority group youth are being collected in various residential training centers where they receive academic training which is either irrelevant to their needs or which they already have had. Having been disillusioned as to their life chances by discrimination, additional academic learning does not seem reasonable or relevant to them. This is coupled with vocational training which they know was customarily provided through apprenticeships, which is not available to them. This clearly depicts their future. Should we wonder that these camps teem with discontent, with riots or near riots, with increasing use of marijuana and high rates of deviance in all spheres and a dropout rate which in some centers approaches 40%? The daily absenteeism rate among those who remain averages over 30%. It is higher in the vocational classes than in the academic area. These explosive items compound the problem of camps whose administration is admittedly authoritarian and with brief analysis are found to be a "punishment centered bureaucracy".

Residential training centers appear incapable in themselves of removing barriers to full opportunity that occur through minority group discrimination. The ranks of the unions will not be opened to these youth, regardless of the level of vocational skill and academic achievement by them. The present tendency, however, is to gear the Urban Job Corps Centers to receive and/or keep the vocationally and academically able youngster. Meanwhile, the central problem of unemployed low capacity youth goes unaltered.

Residential training arrangements can be opened to question on additional grounds. Kvaraceus, in an address before a group of professional educators, identified an important consideration, "It is a romantic and foolish notion that it is possible to remake a youth from the city slums or poor rural area in 10 to 12 months. The fact that all youth in the Job Corps centers are from similar backgrounds tends to re-enforce the problems and traits of each one. We burden youth with an additional problem by taking him out of his home and putting him in an unfamiliar setting". (William C. Kvaraceus, in an address to the annual convention of the American Association of School Administrators as reported in the Record, Bergen, N.J., Feb. 15, 1966.)

This writer, while functioning as a participant observed in one large Urban Job Corps center, noted the prevailing tendency for the organization to take on the characteristics of a total institution such as described in

Goffman's pioneering work and later in Etzioni's concept of the "total organization". Goffman noted: "First, all aspects of life are conducted in the same place and under the same single authority. Second, each phase of the member's daily activity will be carried out in the immediate company of a large batch of others, all of whom are treated alike and are required to do the same thing together. Third, all phases of the day's activities are tightly scheduled . . . Finally, the contents of the various enforced activities are brought together as parts of a single overall rational plan purportedly designed to fulfill the official aims of the institution". (Goffman, 1957, p. 45.) Federal Job Corps officials apparently regarded the voluntary nature of the program as a sufficiently mitigating factor against the negative effects of a "total organization". The negative effect, of course, is the strong tendency for individuals to become dependent on the regularity by which their basic needs are planned for and met, without the individuals participation. Even more important is the self image which may develop in individuals caught in a system which ignores basic social needs and the rights of individuals in determining their own destinies.

Occupational choice is viewed by many as a translation of one's self image in occupational terms. The occupational offerings made by residential training centers to the entering youth constitutes a programming and a structure whih corresponds in many instances to the deficient self image they hold. Etzioni noted that: "The degree to which an organization embraces an individual is inversely related to the degree that he participates in other collectivities which constitute the social environment of the organization". (1961, p. 160.) This he defines as the "scope" of an organization. He continues to say, "Like socialization, resocialization (e.g., rehabilitation) seems to increase in effectiveness as the scope of the organization increases. But for organizations aiming to return lower participants to other collectivities, total scope may not be desirable. Mental hospitals are usually total organizations. But the ability to operate in organizations with a narrow scope, without the warm support of a broader organizational Gemeinschaft, and the ability to participate in several collectivities concomitantly, are essential requirements for the autonomous operation of persons in modern society . . . On the other hand, if the organization intends to sever the bonds of the actor to the external society and to cut him off from its values, as monasteries do, total scope is obviously most effective". (Etzioni, 1961, p. 169.)

There are those who argue that low income or poverty culture youth must be cut off from the mainstream of their sub-culture in order to develop and learn the kinds of behavior adjustive for working class youth. This would require a very carefully structured system of resocialization utilizing as

much as possible well known Skinnerean type principles of programming. To control the social variable upon which the learning would be contingent, it would be necessary to institute the kind of coercive tactics used in total institutions such as prisons and reformatories. It is widely known that these organizations have largely failed to fulfill their manifest function of rehabilitation. Such coercive tactics are not always available in vocational training situations.

The Job Corps because of its voluntary nature, and since it derives its support from federal funds, obviously cannot produce all the elements of a total institution. Which is not to say that authoritarian officials do not want greater control over the lives of the trainees. Where Job Corps centers are operated by private industry, an interesting variation of the total organization has developed. Etzioni (1961, p. 34) described a less than total organization as a "utilitarian organization". In these, organization controls over lower participants are secured through remuneration. Officials of industrial run Job Corps use this means of coercion consciously and the Corpsmen generally regard the money they and their families receive as the important reason for being in a camp. One large Job Corps center has made provisions for levying monetary fines in order to combat the rapidly increasing absenteeism rate. Remuneration in the form of bonuses are used to prevent dropouts, which in one center reached 40%, depending on method used in counting. For instance, Job Corps officials did not feel that a boy is a "real" dropout if he leaves the camp during the first three weeks. The use of remuneration as coercion is further rationalized as a job socializing experience for the youth involved. Coercion is further enhanced by the efforts on the part of counsellors, teachers, and public officials to "motivate" the youth by referring to the Job Corps as "operation last chance". These factors all combine to produce an organization which comes perilously close to Goffman's model of a "total institution". It could account for the high degree of alienation observed which sets in only after a few weeks of encampment. Figures are not available to this writer, if indeed such figures are kept, but personal observation and the testimony of hundreds of staff members of Job Corps centers, indicates alienation is high and correspondingly high is the rate of deviation. Thefts, marijuana, homosexuality, truancy, and assault are all reported to be extensive among the trainees. It is not clear how much alienation the youth bring with them and how much sets in during the induction process. One Job Corps official noted, "We bring in socially immature, ignorant, backward, uncivilized people from every area of the country and we put them together there, we want—are required —to make them live together in peace and harmony as if all of the problems brought with them didn't exist . . ." (James W. Corson, "The Job Corps:

A Dialogue", **The American Child,** V.48, #1, Winter, 1966.) Conversely, this writer and a team of observers from Rutgers University were favorably impressed by the social demeanor, and high aspiration of incoming corpsmen. Like the youth described by Walter Miller (1958, p. 7) and Albert Cohen (1955, p. 139), to be sure these youth can also be observed to have the "focal concerns" of trouble, toughness, smartness, excitement and autonomy. As Miller and others observed (and as is easily observed within the Job Corps), getting into or staying out of trouble is a major issue. For the youth it means fighting among themselves, with their dormitory group leaders, or local youth whose "turf" they may invade. It means cutting classes, breaking curfew, petty thefts, drinking bouts, and the use of marijuana. Various manifestations of compensatory toughness and concerns about masculinity seem to point to the desperate struggle these youth undergo to make secure their male identity. The all male environment, not withstanding the pretty and often exhibitionistic stenographers, intensify these concerns. Smartness and "playing it cool" and the ability to outwit one's peers are other dominant themes. How to "make out" with miserly income and to "beat the system" are admired qualities. This kind of intellectuality is used to avoid the boredom of classes or the tediousness of disciplinary work gangs. It is used on counsellors to "con" them for passes or on executives to secure a "buck". The youth who possess these talents develop a "rep". The boredom brought about in the youth by the monolithic type structure of the Job Corps center intensifies their search for excitement. This is expressed in gambling, drinking and forays into town which lead to encounters with police and police harrassment. There is considerable expressed desire for personal autonomy and corresponding resentment regarding even slightly coercive actions by the staff.

It can be perceived readily that these concerns and life styles are the obverse expectations of the management of the Job Corps brought directly from universities or private industry. Early attempts through "social education" to alter these kinds of concerns were frustrated, causing the staff to greatly reduce its hopes and expectations of the youth. Subsequent execution of training programs is carried out in a desultory and ritualistic manner. The focus steadily shifts from training to "behavioral control" and intensified use of public relations to secure success. At the same time the youth become resentful of attempts to coerce them into a behavioral style, which they more often than not scorn. Additionally, they become increasingly aware of the shift from education to custody. Thus, the familiar pattern that many residential schools and training centers develop can occur in the Job Corps.

Many of the attitudes and life styles carried by youth served in these

programs transcend social class and are representative of a "youth culture". It has been pointed out that middle class youth tend to repudiate the total ethos of the older generation by intense preoccupation with play, excitement, adventure and momentary pleasures such as; drinking, driving, sex and other short run hedonistic devices. Such preoccupations not only cause a reduction of tension, but secure status for the teenager in his own group. These focal concerns appear to neutralize the materialistic achievement orientation of their parents and community leaders. (England, 1960, pp. 435-40.) The focal concerns of middle and upper middle class youth do not appear to be much different from that of lower class youth, although they may serve a different purpose. College preparatory schools and private academies have to accommodate such behavior or go out of existence. To be sure, they like the Job Corps, attempt through selection measures to eliminate extreme types. Also like the Job Corps private preparatory schools may serve some compelling latent function such as relieving middle or upper class parents of the burden of constantly experiencing their children's repudiation of them or securing an element of prestige, and believing that those values operant in their own milieu will be mutually reinforced in the schools.

From the closing of the CCC in 1941-42 until the opening of Job Corps centers throughout the United States, the military service or training schools or reformatories have been the major depositories for out of work, out of school, lower class youth in areas away from the neighborhood. Lower class residential centers consciously attempt to direct youth to make "blue collar decisions" regarding their life aspirations just as upper and middle class preparatory schools endeavor to direct youth to make professional "white collar decisions". While social values will undoubtedly vary along class lines, certain values appear to be universal. Thus, of the 100 Job Corpsmen interviewed by the writer, all or nearly all responded in the affirmative to quesoitns: 1. Do you believe punctuality on the job to be important? 2. Do you believe that unexcused absences from classes are wrong? 3. Do you believe that it is wrong to take other's possessions? 4. Do you believe that a young man should save his money? 5. Do you believe that people should do their share when working together on a project? What varies, of course, is the actual behavior which can be observed directly. Lower class youth, while **knowing** the "right" answers, are far more frequent violators of these norms than their middle class counterparts; that is, if the many recent studies which reflect on deviant behavior can be relied upon even partially. (cf. Wattenberg, p. 59.) Lower class parents appear to emphasize middle class virtues in rearing their children, but as several writers have speculated, they appear to be less effective in the means they employ even though the ends are similar or identical. (Traxler, 1962, p. 76.)

It is possible that the poor results in the Job Corps are caused by factors which are inherent to the system itself. Or as it has been claimed it is due to factors inherent within the youth. Or it may be a combination of these factors which are operant, and destines the most honest effort to failure. Social workers have claimed there are youth who are so deprived socially that removal from customary family and community life is imperative. Perhaps there is a type of youth who could benefit from the environment of the Job Corps. Certainly it does not seem possible that a uniform type program can successfully serve the variety of youth which are admitted. A valid classification system would surely aid those who select volunteers for the Job Corps. A valid classification system or one that is even reliable has eluded the behavioral sciences and simply is not available. Initial observations of the youth in the Job Corps permits some crude typologies to be made, even though regional differences remain and the youth all tend to share common aspects of a "culture of poverty". Like many typologies the reliability of this one has yet to be tested.

There are those youth in the Job Corps who can be identified according to their prior family experience and according to their customary modes of social behavior. These are listed below:

1. Integrated within a family:
   a. gregarious and conforming
   b. gregarious and deviant.
2. Dominated by a family:
   a. passive and compliant
   b. passive and deviant.
3. Rejected by the family:
   a. withdrawn and compliant
   b. withdrawn and deviant.
4. Repudiates Family:
   a. rebellious-nondeviant
   b. rebellious-deviant.

It must be emphasized that these are only preliminary observations and the correlations have not been ascertained. Each of the eight types of adaptation may occur among youth in any of the family types, but the probability based on initial observation is that they probably will not. Type "1 a" gregarious-conforming youth generally accept the rules of the center and endeavor to make the most of the opportunities provided them. Pressing family problems do not induce them to leave the center without permission. Frequently these youth have selected the Job Corps as a job because of

discriminatory employment practices or their home regions were in depressed areas. These youth often achieve academically between the 10th and 12th grade levels. They have high vocational motivation, but are not highly interested in academics which they may feel are below their level of competence.

Type "1 b" gregarious and deviant, are those youth who may bring with them a history of neighborhood gang membership. Difficulties in their local communities may have been the cause of their having dropped out of school. The excitement of the street and peer (street corner) gangs have greatly influenced their lives. Regimentation is very difficult for them. They have a tendency to engage in petty thievery of an utilitarian nature. Authorities are antagonized by them and they by authorities. They may have a record of minor delinquency and they have no heterosexual difficulties. They are often the victim of self-fulfliling prophecies and respond with cynicism to the helping professions. They contribute greatly to the dropout population of the Job Corps centers, and they dropout or are pushed out early.

Type "2 a" passive and compliant, are those youth because of the domination of their family is the main reason for not dropping out. The family allowance provision appears to be a primary consideration. The family may unexpectedly arrive at a center. Often the family is matriarchical, and it may be an extended unit. These youth appear to lack drive, and they often feign interested and absorption in training sessions. Their history of achievement is low and their current rate of achievement is discouraging. Their self esteem is diminished and is reflected in compensatory high occupational aspiration. They are not difficult to manage and they do accept regimentation.

Type "2 b" passive and deviant, are those youth who present some of the more serious adjustment problems. They frequently engage in non-utilitarian thefts. They are likely to be the object of aggressive homosexuals. Unless detected, they are unlikely to call attention to themselves. They tend to stay or often respond to family bidding by dropping out. Often they come from families with female heads of the household. They are very likely to have been "ADC" children. Peer groups appear to have had very little effect on their outlook. They appear to be untruthful from having been intimidated on numerous occasions.

Type "3 a" withdrawn and compliant, are those youth who have never been accepted within their own families, and in a sense they have complied with the families' overt rejection of them by leaving the household. They are great TV fans. If they can read, they read to escape. Their rate of social

interaction is very low, but they have developed a sense for avoiding trouble. They constantly appear sleepy, and one can frequently find them asleep in the classroom. They adhere to the regimen by being in it but not of it. They are aimless and drift from one occupational aim to another. Their teachers and mentors become angry and frustrated by the degree to which they remain uninvolved.

Type "3 b" withdrawn and deviant, are those youth who also have been rejected by their families but tend to deny it through fantasy or conscious prevarication. They readily drop out to "tend" to family type problems. The family may play a part in this charade. Their self image reflects their sense of "nothingness" and their occupational choice indicates that they perceive no particular role for themselves in a family and hence society. Many imagine they would prefer custodian type work with the security and warmth of a large building and no interpersonal demands. They neglect themselves and need to be reminded to shave or have a haircut. They become the objects of ridicule and scorn by their own peers who are often mystified by them. They are often the victims of cruel and unusual punishment meted out in Kangaroo like sessions of the so-called "guided group interaction" used in some centers. Their deviations grow out of their inattention to rules and regulations and can be characterized omissions as much as commissions. It is as though they feel it does not matter if they do, nor does it matter if they do not.

Type "4 a" rebellious and non-deviant, are those youth who have actively repudiated their own families of orientation. For many reasons these youth view complete disassociation with their family a means to escape poverty, and indeed, they may be correct. Their rebelliousness may have been needed to break family bonds, but in any event it appears to have spread into other areas as well. Their manner of dress, speech, and appearance is innovative. They may be the style setters for others. Authorities are enraged by their open defiance of custom. They are good learners with good teachers. They probably read well, but they reject certain blue collar occupations. It is not unusual for them to want to write or to become an artistic photographer. If they are not pushed out of the centers they can tolerate boredom and frustration. They can "play it cool" when the situation demands. They regard physical violence as "going ape". They frequently "make out" in the local communities.

Type "4 b" rebellious and deviant, are those youth who have also repudiated their own families; and at an early age were sufficiently exposed to criminaloid sub-culture so that thefts, extortion, and even sexual depravation are common. Their bi-sexuality may have been learned in reformatories,

and it does not necessarily reveal pathological sexual deviation. These youth quickly find their way to disciplinary work gangs and they will not tolerate peer group imposed punishments. When their "records" are discovered they are frequently "counselled out". They have little patience for academic training and they are to a great extent work alienated so that vocational training tends to become an irritant. They may explore the use of drugs or marijuana. Officials fear these are the "bad apples" that will contaminate the rest. They can be cleverly manipulative, and they use their good intelligence in self defeating efforts.

These types are mainly descriptive and cause and effect relations can only be inferred. Neither do they represent "pure" types and the inevitable breakdown of categories probably would occur under rigidly controlled observation. However, they do indicate that programs in the Job Corps centers should be molded to fit the special requirements of the youth being trained. Methods and techniques should be influenced by the special requirements which are determined by the prior acculturation and socialization of the youth served. It is recognized that the **kinds** of problems youth bring with them and the **kinds** of problems that will arise in the training situation have been largely determined by prior social learnings in a lower (socio-economic) or working class subculture which can be either rural or urban.

This knowledge should affect all aspects of the training process, such as: the kinds of tests and measurement used (or developed), the type of interview used, the frequency of contact, the formality or centrality of various facilities, the kind of career information given, and the type of relationship to be developed between the corpsman and trainers.

Each youth to be served is the nexus of a unique arrangement of social circumstances and, therefore, presents individual and unique patterns. To fully appraise the potentials of each, this fact must be kept foremost in mind. However, the behavior of any individual is to be understood from his immediate interaction within small social systems such as the family, and must also be referred to the larger social system within which such smaller systems are located. While many attitudes and values are learned within the family of orientation, once a child ventures outside he meets the environment on its terms. His family has, to a great degree, been shaped by the influences, expectations and definitions of the larger system. While more research is needed to determine the extent of the response, youth however do respond among themselves and to others as members of families.

Families are generally located within the social structure according to their income, occupation, education and residence. The values, attitudes, hopes, ambitions, and corresponding life chances of families are profoundly

affected by this "social location". The socializing experiences provided children are affected through the "cultural transmissions" provided by families in the strata of society in which they are located. The "self" that a corpsman brings to the camp results from the internalization of such transmissions. The self that he projects when perceived by others and responded to is a powerful determinant of subsequent behavior.

It then becomes a central consideration that the 16-21 year old out-of-work and out-of-school youth's very response to himself may reinforce negative evaluations by "significant others" which he begins to internalize and, hence, becomes.

In the past these "significant others" were teachers, older boys, parents, and so on. Currently, they will be the counselors, group leaders, project administrators and instructors.

Certain values, beliefs or life styles are formulated and promulgated by the white middle class ethic which prescribes "striving to become" (another degree, another car, another home, another promotion) over "being" (an affectionate father now, a good loyal friend now, appreciation of nature now, bravery and comaraderie now). These values which dominate the American scene emphasize achievement by individual, rational, ascetic, self-disciplinary activity.

In this view success is itself a sign of goodness and morality, and lack of success by the same measure leads to dimunition of self. Frequently such self-dimunition leads to modes of adaptation and peer group striving and affiliations (reference group behavior) which are self-defeating in regard to achieving occupational success. Thus, the values and content within a "culture of poverty" not only do not induce behavior conducive to upward mobility, they actually militate against such mobility. To a significant extent, this explains why so many of the youth from lower income groups generally fail to achieve either occupationally or educationally at a level with youth from their age group but of a higher socio-economic class. Even when educational achievement is as great, occupational achievement is not. Studies have demonstrated that by holding education as a constant among the variables which determine occupational success, such achievement corresponds to the families' social class level. This factor seriously and objectively damages the educational aspiration level of many youth from low income families. Indeed, among corpsmen themselves will be some out of work high school graduates who have been barred from the mainstream of American life (Lipset, 1959, p. 99.) because of their families' social location.

Another important fact is that the opportunity to occupy low status

remunerative positions in an industrial or agrarian setting is rapidly diminishing in the face of "cybernated" automation. The recognition of this important fact should deter the development of programs which view human behavior to be based purely on individual motivation. Youth from lower socio-economic groups were not found wanting in motivation when they filled dead-end low pay jobs in the past. Programs should not seek to "re-motivate" so much, but seek to "re-kindle hope and faith" by making future opportunities visible. The "giving of hope" should be an important function to be fulfilled. The centers should supply data on real jobs and lend vision to the corpsman for a hopeful employment future.

We must view the low-income youngster not merely as a trainee. He must be prepared for a vocation, and a job must be located for him. He must be viewed in the context of his social history and his "social world". . . a world quite different from that of the counselor, teacher, social worker, or businessman; a world quite different from the job milieu into which he is supposed to be graduated. From the literature on low-income and working class culture we learn that woven into the youth's social world are special norms of conduct, sets of values, prestige goals, and world views which are not commonly held by the dominant American society. His reference groups and past "significant others" mutually sustain this world and reinforce its resistance against those who would change him. These views must not be approached by broadside attacks, and it is these views which are shared in peer group relationships.

A program should be viewed as able to institute an interpersonal process that can bridge the gap between low income youngsters and the ambient society. The program must provide not only a bridge to the larger social universe, but it must provide a buffer against the insidious possibility that unintended consequences of a center will affect the corpsman as a "total institution".

Such unintended consequences could easily result from attempts at restitution stemming from the current shame of the affluent to "make it up" to deprived youth. This leads to programs to do (everything) for the corpsman (feed, clothe, entertain, house, medicate, groom and group.) Additionally, the ethic, which identifies efficiency with goodness while advancing technology, may produce a social system that automatically meets all needs and eliminates self-determination. Such systems may soon come to create "needs" which the system in deference to efficiency and logistics can meet best. The products of these systems are alienated, powerless, and anomic individuals, not even possessors of skills, nor able to survive without the supports of the system. The milieu of a "total institution", depriving indi-

viduals of their self-hood, is not entirely unlike the low income milieu where individuals are pawns of bureaucratic insensitivities and pathologies.

As the "socialization" process develops and the youth begins to view the staff members as "significant others", he will be helped to shift from his former sub-cultural reference groups. He can gain a new perspective on his formerly significant social world, and he will be able to reassess his old views and actions in light of newly-gained knowledge and definitions. The staff members will play the role of "guides" as they help the youth move along a series of steps which not only involve his social learnings but also his interpretations. The social transaction which occurs between the staff and youth should permit the latter to take on the attitudes and values necessary to pursue successfully a defined occupational role.

Role-taking or "putting oneself in the place of the other" reduces the social distance which blocks meaningful interaction. Thus, while the staff need not stem from the youth's milieu, they will need to understand the latter's definition of social situations. They must recognize that "situations only defined as real are real in their consequences", and this is quite apart from the accurate perceptions of "reality". For example, routine use of tests standardized on the population of the ambient culture may lead to a definition of a youth as an I.Q. of 80 or the aptitude of a service station attendant. Once such a definition is made it does not matter if it is real or accurate; the subsequent events will produce results as though it were real. Should instructors or curriculum developers come to regard the corpsman as educable to the 9th grade level, programs will emerge which will do just that . . . but no more. Should the staff regard each corpsman as a potential trouble maker to the community, relationships between and among them will be so conducted as to produce strains in that direction. Tight controls and regulations regarding "fraternization" could "bottle up" the corpsman so that he would be unable to manage sudden freedoms. In this manner, the trouble making definition could be thereby fulfilled.

The ground work for a **universe of discourse** must be laid where experience can have a common set of social meaning for both, staff and youth. The intention here is not to draw the staff **into** (push) the corpsman's world, but to draw the youth **out** (pull) into the larger socially meaningful universe, and the mainstream of American society. The manifest function of the staff is to accentuate capacities and provide access to the resources within and without the program. It is essential to help the youth out of his "old" social world with its compelling cultural expectations and meanings into the integration of newly acquired values and meanings of a larger world represented by the program. (Pina, 1964, p. 8.)

A center's primary function is to "socialize" the youth into this new world. Various staff mediate this process from entree phase, through the sustaining and reinforcing phase to the ending or re-entry phase. Each phase presents specified tasks which define the actions taken. The actions taken by the staff in his interpersonal encounter and transaction with the youth are designed to provide necessary continuity in the role transitions required of the youth. The staff as a "model" in his attitudes and behavior, challenges the old modes of doing and seeing, and indicates new ones. Discontinuties from time of recruitment in the community until re-entry in the community should not be permitted. Entry and re-entry each call for great adjustments. Ideally, a trusted counsellor in the youth's community should prepare carefully the youth's entry to a Job Corps center. His vocational choice should have been decided before leaving the community. This would require a variety of work experiences in addition to the customary counselling and testing. A representative from the community should visit the youth during the middle phase of this training to assure the youth that every effort is being made to locate the job for which he is being trained. The community should be notified of impending graduations and appointments be made to help place the youth in the newly acquired occupation. Without this kind of continuity the youth feels abandoned, and the relevance of the training is not clear to him.

The variety of vocational training programs which are operating should be inter-related. Some youth should go from Neighborhood Youth Corps, to Rural Job Corps, to the Urban Job Corps, to an apprenticeship or to a job training program. Many youth could skip parts and perhaps all of these programs. Each should be programmed to fulfill a definite part of the occupational socialization process required by some but not all of the youth. Certainly the programs should be geared to prepare youth for the jobs that automation is creating, not those which automation is eliminating.

It must be understood that little in the boy's social life has prepared him for the steps crucial in succeeding in a residential-vocational curriculum. His reading and writing skills are probably deficient. His sense of the relevance of academic learning is not keen. Situations presenting the opposite of this social perception are likely to produce internal stress with corresponding distressful behavior. The youth's social milieu has reduced such internal dissonance in the past by permitting school dropout (squeeze out) and by devaluing intellectual achievement. By the same token the program must reduce dissonance in certain areas and induce it in others. Dissonance produces behavior which can result in cultural assimilation and upward occupational mobility. Internal dissonance is viewed as a significant concept which explains behavior which is otherwise not easily understood. Individ-

uals strive for a consistency between what they have been previously taught (and learned) and what they currently perceive. Cognitions, in the sense that it is used here, refers to something a person knows about himself, about his behavior, or about his surroundings. When dissonance occurs it can be reduced in three major ways. The youth may alter one or more of the cognitions which produce dissonance. He can add new cognitions consonant with those already existing; and he could decrease the subjective importance of those cognitions which are involved. (Brehm, 1962, p. 10.)

For example, a youth may have a poor concept of himself which held against the prospect of becoming a skilled mechanic leads to dissonance. He can lower his aspiration level and become a service station attendant, thereby reducing dissonance; or he could subjectively devalue a course of training or its goal, thus maintaining internal consonance.

**In the past,** the behaviors which have finally brought a youth to the program, it has been said, result from deficits in social learning or in the specific kinds of social learning. Psychologists have described in detail why some youth do not learn automatically more successful coping behavior. The youth's behavior which produced school dropouts and later occupational failure is "culturally transmitted avoidant", the very nature of which keeps him out of situations (school) or experiences (with educators-employers) where he would learn adaptive behavior. His continued reliance on avoidant behavior precludes the opportunity to learn alternative modes. Therefore, a primary purpose of the whole program milieu is in general to increase the number of behavioral alternates a youth has. (Rotter, 1954, p. 97.)

The staff can attempt to increase the probability that alternatives will be selected in at least five ways, thus in turn increasing the youth's expectancy of success. (1) by determining what factors have high value for the youth, the program can directly encourage desirable emergent behavior. (2) The program can actively help the corpsman find and enter situations where he can observe alternate behaviors **and** their consequences; this can be accomplished retrospectively in discussions individually and in groups. (3) The program can locate in the corpsman's past alternatives which were precipitously abandoned because of a lack of social reward, and structuring experiences so that emergence of these alternate behaviors will now be rewarded. (4) The staff can discuss with the corpsman new alternates and their consequences. (5) The staff can encourage the corpsman to look for alternate solutions to problems rather than just relying upon established patterns.

In summary, to the greatest extent possible, the program should attempt to structure a milieu for the youth which will provide social rewards and satisfactions. It is the very lack of such opportunity which has blunted ambition, aspiration and hope in the past.

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